/80 cont./

583 thread or spinning and dyeing cotton. They bring in logs, which serve as seats, they make the harness for the burros and horses. In other words, in some places the woman tries to become self-sufficient, and in other places, according to the established division of labor, she sells whatever she makes and with the proceeds buys the food, clothes, and utensils she may need in the home; or more simply she relies on barter to gain her object.

583 177 The problem is different in the case of mestizos, if the marriage is not carried out under Guajiro law, and in that of whites who have married Guajiro women in accordance with the rite established for the community. In both cases the man provides, besides the house, all that is essential for the home such as furniture and domestic utensils according to the custom of civilizados /nonnatives/, and later, as they wear out, he substitutes new ones. With respect to the dowry, we may say that the man may take charge of his wife's animals, if she so wishes, but he may not arbitrarily dispose /81/ of them. The capital acquired between them is the inheritance of their children, as we have seen. It does not devolve, as in Guajiro practice, to its original source (the wife's maternal relatives). Since he did not make a marriage payment, it is up to the man to shoulder the responsibility and provide for all the necessities of the home. /83/ /page 82 is blank/

V

MARRIAGE

583 436 Purchase procedure. The traditional Guajiro marriage is brought into being through the purchase of the woman from her maternal relatives, payment being made in animals and ornaments and, at the present time, in bolivars because of the influence of trade with Venezuela.

[43 cont.]

755 of the same – the bone which is left to dry and then cooked –
764 which also participates in its power, because in the primitive
778 mentality the part is accepted as the whole, or at least shares in the power of the whole, even at a distance.

556 Another meaning that the sacrifice of animals has is that related to the status of the individual in his other life. One of
436 the points of reference of status in La Guajira is wealth, which
437 is nearly always equivalent to the possession of a larger or lesser number of heads of livestock. Livestock represents, in certain aspects, Guajiro currency, since interchanges, blood payments, etc., are always based on a definite number of heads of livestock, besides of course necklaces of tuma, gold, etc.

556 Naturally, if an individual occupies a certain social posi-
764 tion in life, it is logical that when he goes to the other life, to
775 the world of the dead, he occupies an identical position or tries to better the one he had in life. This, then, is one of the reasons why certain of his possessions are placed near or in his tomb, and to complete his "equipment" for the next world, a number of animals are sacrificed, the higher his position in society the greater the number, so that these may give him the desired social position in the world of the spirits.

764 The association, then, is easy to establish: If the individ-
775 ual in dying passes to a new life similar to the one he led on
825 earth, then the animal, a living being with a soul like the man, on dying must also pass on to occupy a place in the other world. This, of course, is only our own supposition. But we find no other explanation of the Guajiro statement that the animals should be sacrificed so that they can accompany their owner to the other world and give him an advantageous position among the other spirits.

764 The sacrifice implies above all an act of magic. The fact
784 that the dead man's close relatives must not eat the meat of the
778 sacrificed animals, because it would be like eating the flesh of their relative himself, establishes the relation between the owner and his property in the sense that the latter shares his personality. And as the dead man is sacred, or at least taboo, that is, sacred in the sense of being untouchable, so also are the things that he owned: the animals – which are [44] to accompany

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

The Guajiro not only trafficked with the
439 whites, but they did a lively trade with each other, using
436 cattle as their currency. Thanks to this there was a form of
incipient specialization. Pottery and weapons were the main
articles of trade. The rich bought those made by specially
586 skilled craftsmen, who made so much money that they con-
463 centrated largely on producing things to sell. The poor had
to make all their own things. Everywhere there were people
who could weave and spin, and make pottery, but those
who could afford it liked to buy what was best and loveliest.

We wanted to buy articles in general use, but the irritating thing was that the rich did not need to sell and only did so if it amused them, or if they got an especially good price; while the poor had nothing to sell. Those who made these articles as a craft liked to use materials bought from the whites. In the old days they used to weave their textiles of homespun cotton thread dyed with vegetable dyes; now they not infrequently bought dyed woollen yarn from the whites, but in that remote part of the peninsula they had not yet begun to do so. We saw that they had plenty of hammocks made of bast and cotton yarn. These were larger and more comfortable than was usual and were made with a different technique. The hammock is the genuine Indian
513 bed, invented in the jungles of South America before the white man ever came there, and has the advantage of being easy to take about and cool to lie in, while the sleeper is protected from all the unpleasant and dangerous insects of the ground.

Throughout the journey we had slept in hammocks—you have to get used to them before you find them comfortable—as long as there was somewhere to hang them. We now told the Indians that we wanted proper hammocks, the kind they themselves used, for we had bought ours from the whites. That started the bargaining.

There was seldom any question of buying for cash—they
439 did not have much confidence in the white man's money—
436 so we had to barter for what we wanted. We soon discovered that apart from our knives, the Indians undervalued all our goods. If we had not had a large case of knives we would never have managed to assemble the collections

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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we wanted to make. After knives, maize was the best medium of exchange, and we could buy that from the monks as long as we used the mission station as our headquarters, but once we went further afield we were not able to carry any to use for barter. Cloth was also in demand. We had a couple of bales of the white material the Indians usually bought. Unfortunately we had not been able to get the best barter commodity of all: tuma beads. These are large polished stone beads of different sizes made of cornelian and other stones, for all of which the Guajiro has special names. Tuma beads are found in old Indian graves, especially in and around Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, though these graves are also said to exist in Guajira. However, it was not advisable, we were told, to try and prove that or to embark on archaeological excavations. To do so might easily lead to trouble.

Later we made a rich find of tuma beads in graves in Sierra Nevada, but then we were not able to go back to Guajira. The richer Indians especially valued tuma very highly and often paid as much as a horse for one bead. We could not have used anything as precious for our small deals, but they would have been useful for getting riding and pack-animals. As it was we bought a couple of hammocks and some earthenware vessels.

One must be careful not to do a Guajiro over a deal. That can involve one in difficulties and a claim for damages. It goes without saying that, in the Indians' view, it was we who came off second best, and we would not have had it otherwise.

We took leave of our hosts feeling slightly guilty because of that photograph which was a secret between us, the girl and her guardian, but also satisfied with our first expedition in Macuira. We loaded a donkey with our purchases which an Indian drove direct to Nazaret, for we were to make a detour in order to visit another rancho. The sand made very heavy going and we decided for the future we would ride, especially as we should be going further afield.

As soon as we drew near the next rancho, we realized that something was afoot. We could hear a buzz of voices